1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 524, 245 Ifalik

"Children use coconut leaflet midrib for some of their toys. A big bread-fruit leaf, stiffened here and there by weaving strips of leaflet midrib in and out, along and across, makes a perfectly good kite. Other toys are made in the same way. Tiny coconuts, the size of a small child's fist, are fitted with a strip of leaflet midrib for a stem, and spun as tops."

Sarfert found all the games (ūlu, Mogemog: rágam), by watching the children; he never saw men and women playing.

a) gárefa: ball game. The cubic ball (garefa) is plaited of coconut leaves, and it is tossed from one opponent to the other.

b) gedādal: wrestling match, both overhand and underhand grappling are used.

c) limés: jumping with both feet.

d) ligefát: walking on the hands.

e) djūderū: it is a game of tag between two people. Each one erects a pile of sand to serve as his base. Then each opponent tries to catch the other, and to reach his base.

f) liwas: a sand game, in which the players make holes in the sand with their index fingers, while reciting a verse; then they say another verse and pull them out again.

g) dilidīli: a running game; two groups take hold of hands; one runs past the other, and the last one must hold on to a boy in the other row.

h) sawófá: a tug of war between two groups. They take hold of each other after reciting a verse, and then pull in opposite directions.

i) lifolúr: a game like the German "Fox in the hole." A circle is formed, and a "sleeping spirit" kneels in the middle. The players in the group sing, then the spirit

wakes and tries to break through the group, by throwing himself on the arms of the players. In the spot where he gets through the line, one of the guilty children must be the "spirit."

k) fisilāle: a circle is formed, and each player puts his right leg over his neighbor's. Then they sing a song, and everybody makes a quarter turn to the right, and hops around in the circle. The position is so awkward that some of the players naturally tumble down, to the general amusement of all concerned.

l) ńōudáulugubāī: four players stand in the corners of a rectangle, [96], and four others sit between them. The latter put their feet together, and give their hands to their neighbors on both sides. Then the children, who are standing, run around in a circle, and keep the others swaying back and forth.

m) imădirāu: it is the German "blind cow" game. The eyes are bound with a coconut leaf.

n) gafibōi: a chain is formed, then the first player crawls between the 2nd and the 3rd, and everyone keeps his arms folded. Then they turn around suddenly, and swing their arms over their heads, so all the players hold hands again.

o) igalimŭd: the children squat in a line. Then the last one is grabbed by two larger boys, and swung over the whole row.

For toys they have a ball, bow, toy boats, a bull-roarer (legawŭliwuli) of coconut

leaf, a little windmill (legafilăn) of leaf strips with an axis of coconut nerve, a pipe (gădigedik, gădik) of coconut leaf.

2: Damm et al. --144
116, 524

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

Toys and games.

a) bagisöfisöf: bow,
b) gannni: a whirler made of a strip of coconut leaf, which is bent together, and over which a coconut leaf nerve is stretched into a bow. The bull-roarer is unknown.
c) There were string games too, and a kind of hand clapping game.

2: Damm et al. --208 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 534, 202, 524 Faraulep

The only musical instrument is the conch shell (taúi; mouthpiece - eoál, sound hole - nán, to blow - xánum), and it is used for signalling and for religious invocations rather than for musical edification. Bull-roarers and leaf pipes are used for children's toys.

2: Damm et al. --210 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 524 Faraulep

Hambruch noted the following toys:

a) boats (maravai) with sails made of taro leaves. We have already referred to their religious significance.
b) String figures (xatōte) which one or two can make; usually there are ten manipulations in one figure.
c) bull-roarer (xanum) of the same form as the ganini of Aurepik.
d) spinners (nigaferen) of palm leaf strips, made in the same shape as the ones on Ifaluk.
e) ball (garofa) of the common Carolinian form.
f) different kinds of woven toys: bird (gataf) of woven leaf strips, married couple, pipe (atifetix), little pouch (?).

4: Krämer--121 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 524 Lamotrek

Play and Sport, ur.

Hellwig 2132 =5912 is a small loom which children set up to play and work.

Hellwig 2133 =5913 is a toy canoe, vá, with paddles for children.

yarn game	gafif
ball game	ɣarefa (see Feis)
pinwheel	gadjogoiá, four ends
catching game including throwing into salt water	tūgūrik

livōvō, breadfruit blossom; to throw it at one another. The point is to duck in order not to be hit by it because the person hit must get out of the game.

porettetiu buai, "not allowed laughing": the players form a circle; in the middle stand one or two persons who try to make the others laugh. Anyone who laughs is thrown into the water.

4: Krämer--270-271 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 524 Woleai

Hellwig shows a paddle for children. Length, 90 centimeters. Figure 130 [VMM: see source]. [271]

Dolls are simply called lios (Truk: picture) and they do occur. The wooden figures (see Figure 131) [VMM: see source] bear a certain resemblance to the objects used for storm-magic (Figure 132). [VMM: see source]

Hellwig shows a pin-wheel (gu), at the mouth of a wooden fish which is tied to a bamboo pole.

6: Senfft--57
116, 411, 524

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

There are no weapons besides the spear for fishing and the adze. Slings (chaoil) were used formerly, but are no longer found today. There are miniature bows (baok) and arrows (gafisch) which are used as toys and have no other purpose.

"A few general notes on children's play may be in order. Generally, one is impressed (after long and constant observation) with the egocentricity of the children's play. (21) Each child seems to be acting out his own private phantasies, in conjunction, to be sure, with other children, but with his own private meanings. There is no real integrated or meaningful interraction, in the sense of role taking, but each child is trying to serve his own ends, which may be served by playing with others. That this is true is demonstrated by the fact that the child, if he is dissatisfied with the way the others are playing, will drop out of the group, and play by himself. Another characteristic is the lack of consistency or constancy in their play over a sustained period of time. They precipitately change from one activity or game to another with no warning at all, or may drop all activity for no discernable reason. Another characteristic of the older children is the randomness and/or lack of goal directed activities. When I was still new to the culture, I would ask a group of boys what they were doing, and they would answer, 'tar', nothing. When I got to know them intimately, I began to understand the truth of the remark. At the same time, their behavior may be completely random--throwing of stones, not at any target, or goal, just throwing of stones.

This randomness of behavior is even more marked in the younger children, but one would expect it in them, since they are still in an exploratory state, and at the same

"21. Susan Isaacs states this as a general characteristic of the play of children."

time their behavior is more egocentric. Theirs is isolated play, in which the contact is geographical, not interractional. For example, two little boys, about two years old, were playing near the cook-shed, in which the women were preparing food. As I walked up, one was sitting, sucking on a blade of grass, laughing to himself, as he chewed it. The other one just sat and stared at me, after which he put his hand in his mouth, sucked it, and then kicked the dirt with his feet. He then rose, smiling, and walked from the shed. One of the women (not his mother) brought him back. He sat down, sucking his finger, then sucked a twig. Meanwhile the other boy was endlessly winding a piece of grass around and around the twig to which it was attached. The other boy began to play with his toes. This went on for a long time, each child turning from one activity to another, completely ignoring the other one."

28: Spiro--105-106 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524, 177 Ifalik

"The number of games the children play is quite limited. Boys play a game, called kat, which is similar to checkers, and which was unquestionably brought from the Japanese on Yap by the young men who had worked there. The game is played by both boys and men, often a boy playing a man. A board is ruled into horizontal and vertical lines, about nine vertical and twelve horizontal. Each player has twelve pieces of coral or coconut midribs, with which he tries to 'capture' those of his opponent, by 'jumping'. One may jump in either direction, and the 'king' may traverse as great a distance as he wants. The winner, of course, is the one who captures all of his opponent's pieces. This game, it should be noted, is the only game in which there is a 'winner', and it is not native. The boys and young men play it with avidity, [106] often with great enthousiasm. This is true, also, of the card games that the young and old men, but not children play. Adults have no competitive games or sports either. The Japanese had taught them some card games, but they had no cards. We gave them a deck, and they played the game with great relish, often spending hours at a time at it. What is significant, of course, is that the culture provides no competitive games, in which one child is victorious over another."

28: Spiro--106 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524 Ifalik

"On windy days, the boys make human-like figures from coconut leafs (karigeli), with long legs', and when they are placed in the wind, they 'walk' for some distance.

The older boys make kites from coconut leafs, which they fly on windy days. They also make model canoes, and sail them in the lagoon on windy days.

Some of the boys made a wagon, which I saw used only once. They used four wooden disks, as wheels, used long poles as the body proper, and pulled each other around, having great fun.

A frequent activity of the boys is the spinning of tops. A coconut stem is inserted into a coconut bud, which when twirled in the hand and released on the ground, will spin very well.

The younger children, both boys and girls, play with these tops, but do not spin them too well. Usually they merely throw them into the air, retrieving them when they fall, repeating this pattern incessantly. This retrieving pattern is a favorite one. They roll plates on the ground, balls and other objects, running after them to retrieve them. Or else they play 'catch' with some object, throwing it, or batting it, back and forth."

"A game played by two children involved rolling a bottle-cap on the ground, which the other child, would pick up, and return to the other. But the formal structure of the game is always accompanied by personal behavior and symbolism. For example, Iliakong and Talavusman were playing this game when the latter had a sore knee so that if she over-threw the mark, she would have to retrieve the cap, since he could not run. Each time she ran for the cap, she would bend her head to the ground, put her hand between her buttocks, and giggle, and he would laugh with her.

Another game, a variant of this, is rolling a ball (made of coconutleaves) on the ground, while a model windbreak is standing near one of them. The windbreak is not touched, but it fell over in the course of the play, the participants and observers would break out into peals of laughter. Instead of windbreak, they would set up a coconut fan against a stick, with the purpose of knocking it down with the ball, and if they succeeded, they would again break into great laughter. (22)

"22. From the intense excitement and the 'obscene' nature of the laughter, one could probably infer that the knocking over of the stick with a ball is an unconscious coitus phantasy, shared by all."

Another favorite game is the play-wearing of clothes. Both the little boys and girls (nude) would wrap cloth about them, and parade about the house or courtyard. Or they would wrap themselves in blankets, parading around the house, and then lie down together under the blanket."

28: Spiro--106-107 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524 Ifalik

"Another game was a semi-wheelbarrow game, in which one child would hold the leg of another, the latter thus attempting to walk on one leg. [107]

The children also had a game of 'it.' Two children would stand opposite each other at about a distance of thirty feet, and another child would be 'it' in the center. The two on the outside would attempt to hit him with a coconut leaf 'ball', and the one who succeeeded would then take his place in the center.

Playing 'house', I observed only once. Two pre-pubertal girls had erected a house of coconut leaves, and had spread mats on the floor inside. They sat outside the house, like two Ifaluk matrons, making wreaths, while a number of younger children were playing in the house, and were treated as the children of the two girls."

28: Spiro--107
116, 857, 524

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"Much of the play and games occurs on the beach or in the water. One favorite was jumping head first into the lagoon from the run-way that led from the shore to the over-water-head. Another was just swimming or splashing in the water, or playing tag in the water. On the beach, many kinds of activities were indulged in. A few examples might be of interest. One afternoon some children dug holes in the sand, trying to build bridges between the holes. The boys became weary and lay down, and the girls covered them completely with sand, and then ran off leaving them. The younger children would often build and destroy one sand pile after another. The following description is a complete account of the sand play of an entire afternoon. Talemelemar (boy) and Iliakong (girl) were kneeling in the sand on the beach, piling sand on their legs and thighs until the laps were covered. After tiring of this, they each filled a basket with sand, filled it with water, and threw the mixture into the air. Iliakong threw a basket of sand at Talemelmar who became angry, and retaliated by throwing some at her. They both seem to enjoy this, so they continued throwing baskets of sand at each other, enjoying the entire proceedure immensely. They suddenly tired of this and returned to the task of filling their baskets. When hers was filled, Iliakong threatened to throw it at Talemelmar. He screamed and ran into the ocean. He then returned and played in the sand about fifty feet from Iliakong. She knelt by me, playing in the sand, then came over and tried to

look up my shorts. Failing in this, she returned to her play in the sand, this time making a ball from the sand, and kept patting it, and shifting it from hand to hand--singing at the same time, oblivious of everything and everyone. Suddenly she jumped up, threw the ball of sand into the air, then tried to walk on her hands, failed, and returned to her play in the sand, Talemelemar saw her trying to walk on her hands, and attempted to imitate her. They both decided to do it together, and insisted that I watch them. They soon tired of this play, and Talemelemar ran off by himself, while Iliakong reverted to the making of balls. Soon Talemelemar came running back insisting that I watch him as he jumped up and down in the shallow water. When Iliakong finished making her balls she ran to the ocean and threw them into the air. She then returned to pile sand on her legs, as Talemelemar began to make balls. Iliakong too returned to the ball-making, and both of them continued, almost monotonously, to shift the ball from one hand to the other, patting them as they did so. Iliakong accompanied this activity with song, coordinating her singing and patting in perfect rhythm. She made three sand balls and put them beside her basket. I touched one and accidentally broke it, at which she shouted at me, threatened to throw sand at me, and ended by burying the other two in the sand. In the meantime, Telemelemar had built a little hillock out of sand, scraping sand away from it, so that it was separated from the sand surrounding it. He then picked it up and placed it beside the ball he had made. He then made another ball and buried it too in the

sand. Then, taking the other two balls on shore, he began to pack them with great care with mud. At that point, Iliakong ran to him and deliberately broke one of the balls, but he said nothing. She tries to kick the other from his hand, but he pulled it away. The ball she was carrying fell accidentally to the ground, and broke, at which they both laughed uproariously. She then threw sand at him, which he dodged. At this point it began to rain, and we all sought shelter in the canoe house."

28: Spiro--107-108
116, 857, 524, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The children would play other games at various times. They would attempt to climb a tree or a stump, but if seen by adults, they would be stopped. They would [108] jump into the air, trying to touch their feet before they landed on the ground. They also had a game of tag, in which they would chase each other endlessly around an imaginary circle, screaming with pleasure until they would fall exhausted to the ground.

Another game was to stand facing each other, with the palms of their hands pushing against the palms of another, and then attempt to push the other from his spot. Singing and dancing were favorite pastimes, performed individually and in groups. We shall have more to say about the dancing in another connection. Their songs and dances were imitations of the adult songs and dances, there being none which are specifically for children. The children love to sing and were eager to learn the songs that I sung. Their favorite American song was 'Patsie Orie Arie Aye' which they (and the adults, too) asked me to sing whenever they saw me. Eventually they learned the tune and the chorus, so that they would sing it by themselves.

Both boys and girls would often play in the canoes, just climbing around them, or attempt to paddle them when they were in the water."

28: Spiro--108
116, 857, 524

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are no dolls for the girls to play with. The Germans, as we have pointed out elsewhere, induced the people to make dolls for export. But no one thought of using them as dolls to be played with. Apparently the play of the children with actual babies takes the place of play dolls. However, I did observe play with dolls once during our stay. Two little girls were playing with a half coconut shell. When I asked them what it was, they said it was a cat. Later they said it was a baby. They held it in their arms, and sung to it, as a mother would to a child. They then put it in a 'cradle' (a basket leaf), and swung it from the roof pillars. They played with this cradle interminably, constantly taking it down, and putting it back again, tying and untying the string. But this is the only doll play I had seen in our entire stay."